231/173 [91] Legendary tradition attributes to Nyiraruchyaba, daughter of Gihanga, the introduction of cattle into Ruanda. One day when she went to cut wood, she noticed whitish patches on the ground. Being very thirsty and not finding any water nearby, she took her drinking-straw and drank the white liquid. Finding this drink delicious, she wished to know whence it came. She went into the forest and came upon a horned animal that was losing through its udder a liquid identical to that she had just drunk. In the meantime as Gihanga had fallen seriously ill, she brought him some of the white liquid. The patient drank it and recovered quickly. He asked his daughter where the medicine had come from and she brought him the animal. The cow was called ingizi (from kugira neza, to heal well). Since that time the Banyarwanda have had a great veneration for horned cattle.

232 Along with ordinary cattle (inkuku) the Mwami owns herds of scrupulously selected cows which, without being precisely the object of a cult as in ancient Egypt, are treated with particular care and are in the foreground at all festivals. These are the Inyambo (1).

1. The word Inyambo designates an animal, a herd, or all the herds together.

The origin of the Inyambo goes back to the Mwami Yuhi Mazimpaka. This king chose fine long-legged cows with long horns and a shiny dark brown coat (ibihogo) and mated them with a young and vigorous bull. The selected herd was kept apart in the province of Rukoma near the Nyabarongo River. These cows multiplied and from them the best ones continually selected. Under the preceding Mwami, Yuhi Musinga, the Inyambo were divided into two herds, one called agakanda and the other indoha. Musinga [92] added a third and called them respectively Inyuba hilo (the ones to be respected) or herd of Gihanga; Inshya (the new ones) or herd of Kigeri Ndabarasa which contained a remarkable bull called Rushya; and finally Ingabe (the dominating ones) or herd of Kigeri Rwabugiri.

The three herds combined were called Insanga. At the full moon in June they were led in procession to the Mwami amidst dancing and joyful cries (gukura gichurasi, lit., to carry off the month of May) (1).

821 1. The month of May, during which according to tradition Mwami Gihanga died.

821 was considered a time of mourning. It was forbidden to get married at that time.

232 At all times a bull called Rusanga and five cows of each of the three Insanga herds were kept in a special enclosure inside Musinga's boma, and the king would often come and stroke them and speak to them affectionately.

The Inyambo now live in the province of Buganza, a country of fine pastures and gently undulating hills; being delicate animals they cannot stand the high altitude climate. The Mwami hands over his herds to the umutware w'intebe who in turn entrusts them to a hill chief or to the common Batutsi, although without position of authority, they are of nobler origin than some chiefs and are therefore particularly qualified to care for this choice cattle.

The Inyambo are large, long-legged animals with a less well developed dewlap than ordinary cattle, a deeper chest, long flanks, and an angular, thin, and dry rump. The enormously long horns often attain a length of 1.75 meters. They are in the shape of a lyre or crescent; the width between the tips may be 2 or more meters. [93] The coat is bright russet (igaju) or cheese-colored (igitare), but mostly dark brown (ibihogo).

The Inyambo go back into the kraal every evening and are always bedded down, which is rarely done for ordinary cattle, even by wealthy owners.

234 They are not milked like ordinary cows. Only sufficient milk for their Bahutu guardians is taken daily. If they have a calf, their milk is reserved for the young animal. The offspring of the Inyambo is automatically an inyambo. Even the offspring of ordinary cows may become inyambo.

232 If in a herd of inkuku there is a heifer whose characteristics are similar to those of the Inyambo, the Banyarwanda mate this heifer with an inyambo bull. The calf born of this first union is called imilizo. If the breeders judge that the inyambo qualities are to be found in this animal, it is also mated with an inyambo bull, and the offspring is considered worthy to enter the Inyambo herd.

The inyambo cows are never slaughtered or sold for any reason, such as malformation or sterility; they all die of illness or old age. The males fare differently. When they are full grown

778 The public cult sites used for common worship of the gods
•[821] are erected wherever lightning has struck the ground, either where it injured or killed a person or a head of cattle or where it has just struck the ground. Lightning is regarded as sent by the god Imana himself (No. 19, p. 253). At such a place a circular piece of ground, two to three meters in diameter, is leveled and covered with straw. Manioc and fig branches are planted around it. Then, celebrating the ceremony of the sacred spear, the kiranga plants in the middle of it a shoot from a banana or a fig tree which is regarded as the temporary residence of the god, Imana-Rikiranga-Riangombe. uEvery passerby
[782] puts a little tuft of dry grass in front of the young tree in homage to the god (see grass greeting, p. 95). Sick people are brought to this site so that they may ask the god to grant them recovery (No. 19, p. 564). This kind of homage is also supposed to be helpful when asking for rain for the fields and herds. Usually
[346] some small grass huts are also erected at or near the sacrificial site; in these huts food and drink are sacrificed to the god. Often, however, such huts are absent.

778 [136] The second type of cult and sacrifice huts at whose
346 consecration the kiranga must participate is the private sacri-
782 fice huts (ivigabiro), dedicated to the spirits of the dead (imisimu or abasimu). Often, however, a sacrifice is also offered to the god Kiranga in one of these little private huts; it is then called akararo ka rugabo, i.e., the great master's humble quarters for the night (No. 46, p. 18). These little huts are erected inside the kraal next to the residential huts. In most cases their shape resembles that of the residential huts, but they are only one half to one meter high (Plate 18a). They are always constructed in a careless fashion. In fact, often a few branches or some bundles of straw or reed, inserted in the ground and tied together at the top in the shape of an arch, are considered sufficient. A little straw is spread underneath, and on it a few implements are placed as a sacrificial offering, for example, a piece of imanga wood which is used for amulets, a piece of bottle gourd, shaped like a bowl, which is used as a container for food, an old pot as a receptacle for beer, an old tobacco pipe, etc. In some areas of Urundi, for example, in

2. Chronometry, Counting, Arithmetic

●821 The astronomical observations and knowledge of the Barundi are very meager. To them the sun (isuba) is only the wandering fire of Imana, the principal god. They believe that when the sun goes down in the west it falls into the hands of the Wabemba. The Wabemba, however, are cannibals and eat the sun, except for a small piece which escapes them and returns to the east where it once more grows to its full size and rises again in the morning (No. 19, p. 53).

In the minds of the Barundi the moon (ukwesi) is of greater importance, for it is by the regularly recurring phases of the moon that they measure the time. The moon is a male (or hermaphroditic?) being; the evening star is his favorite wife; the other stars are his children and servants; the stars of the "Great Bear" are his concubines; and those of Orion are his oldest sons (No. 19, p. 54). As among all Negroes, the appearance of the first crescent after new moon is greeted with jubilation, but the Barundi have no special cult devoted to the return of the moon. The word ukwesi, moon, has the same root as the Swahili word mwesi; the moon is the shining, strong, and powerful one. This is probably also the origin of the name Mwesi for one of the Barundi kings (see p. 162 [not translated]). The name Unjamwesi really refers to the land of Mwesi, i.e., Urundi, but when the Arabs invaded the lake region (in 1840), they applied this name to the whole area south of Lake Victoria and east of Lake Tanganyika. They named it after the most powerful of the local rulers, the king of Urundi. Thus, the name has been retained for the region of Unjamwesi which, in addition to Tabora, was occupied by the Arabs; yet the real land of Mwesi (Urundi) remained closed to them.

805 Everything in Urundi is determined by the course and the changes of the moon. The year is a lunar year, but the year is not consciously divided into twelve months, nor is there any definite measure of time for a year (umwaka). A year has passed when the two main seasons, the dry season and the rainy season, have passed. Within this framework, time is reckoned by the various agricultural activities undertaken at certain phases of the

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

564 Three socio-racial castes are to be
563 distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of
162 the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa, hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

773 The world in which men are placed and which they know through their
776 senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

772 The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material
[823] world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat; its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

● 821 In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms) stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

773 In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been
[823] some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, creatures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is
[825] said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

772 This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old (people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

questions are asked, it appears that this conception of the life of the universe has not been the subject of speculation and is not of great importance to the Banyarwanda.

Without *Imana* the world would not continue to exist and his action is necessary to maintain life. *Imana's* action, however, is not manifested in particular interventions; it is conceived rather as an underlying force which sustains the whole universe but does not interfere in the development of the life of nature. Seeds are put into the ground and after some time plants come up, the banana-trees produce their yields, the cows breed. All this is the normal course of things and we may expect the recurrence of these events at the proper times. This universal order, indeed, is not independent of *Imana*. He made plants grow and animals multiply, but he does not have to act to give fertility in each case. The scholastic distinction between prime cause and secondary causes can very well be applied to Ruanda conceptions. *Imana* acts as the prime cause of the universe and therefore any event may be imputed to him. On the other hand, nature itself includes the secondary causes which account for the regular unfolding of its course.

But this natural order is not unalterable. *Imana* remains master of the rules he has established. There are numerous stories of miracles worked by *Imana* (a stick becomes a cow, teeth are granted to a girl who had none, &c.). Other beings besides *Imana* may act on nature: the spirits of the dead and even some men, the sorcerers. They may prevent somebody's beans from growing, they may have a man or a cow struck down by lightning. In particular, rain, so important in this country where rainfall is very irregular, has been regarded as under man's control. There were rain-makers (*bavubyi*) who had the dangerous responsibility of regulating rainfall.

Natural forces—rain, wind, hail, storms—are not considered as persons having desires and intentions that could be influenced by prayers or offerings. It seems that only thunder is personalized, and is regarded as a king (*mwami*). When a person has been struck by lightning, it is said that the Thunder-King has honoured his subjects with a visit and has taken one of them with him. Lightning receives the same salute as the king of Ruanda.

Banyarwanda implicitly distinguish between the regular course of nature and more or less unexpected events. Towards the former they assume a rational attitude. They do not look to the invisible world to account for the alternation of the phases of the moon, the growth of plants, the breeding of cattle. These phenomena are explicable on the level of secondary causes. Neither *Imana* nor the occult powers interfere in the normal course of material nature. It would be misleading to conceive of the Ruanda people as 'primitives' living in an irrational world where every phenomenon is an enchantment demanding explanation in terms of an intervention of the invisible world. They look at the world in its regular course in the same way as does a product of Western culture.

Of course, a Munyarwanda could not explain the interplay and the exact action of secondary causes as a Western scientist would do. But neither

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

could the great majority of people in our culture. They believe that some specialists know exactly how natural phenomena work, and they have an idea of the type of explanation the specialists use. Banyarwanda have fundamentally the same attitude.

In relation to natural phenomena which do not appear with such regularity that they may be expected at about this or that time, the ideas of the Banyarwanda are quite different. Because of their unexpectedness, these events resemble the consequences of human intention. As a man suddenly becomes angry and hits somebody, so thunder strikes. If an occurrence is clearly an exception to natural laws, as Banyarwanda know them, they are confused. If I have taken ordinary care of my banana-grove and it does not produce so many or such good fruits as the trees of my neighbours on the same hill, there must be some reason to be sought outside the normal order of the world. Moreover, these unexpected events may often be dangerous and detrimental. Since any Munyarwanda has, as we shall see later, many powerful enemies in the invisible world, he is easily led to suspect them. Consequently, when confronted with happenings in the material world which do not fit into their conception of the normal order of things, the Banyarwanda explain these events as due to a special intervention of supernatural forces. *Imana* himself may be responsible, but when the event is regarded as harmful, ghosts or sorcerers bear the blame.

In this interpretation of unusual events, the Banyarwanda differ significantly from the people of the West. First, it should be emphasized that for us, events which seem to be exceptions to the laws of nature are much rarer. Those who scientifically know a certain field of spatio-temporal reality can show that events unforeseen by laymen, such as a storm, are in fact completely in accordance with the order of nature. When the event seems inexplicable to the specialist, the uninitiated person is generally unaware of the fact and indeed often displays a greater belief in physical science than do scientists themselves. A basic assumption of our culture is that science (of the physico-chemical type) can explain any material phenomenon. Thus any event in that sphere of reality will be interpreted in accordance with that belief. The event may, however, be of such a type that a 'scientific' explanation does not seem possible. For instance, the unpredictable event (a storm, a famine) may happen several times in the same place and no reason can be found for that repetition. The Western mind will then usually have recourse to the concept of chance, by which is meant, that the numerous conditions which must be realized in order to produce the event may happen accidentally to coincide more than once. There is no inevitability in the repetition of that constellation of conditions, it may just happen. The concept of chance, by which we avoid recourse to the supernatural in such cases, is not used by Banyarwanda. For them a phenomenon of the material world is either a part of the normal course of nature and is explicable in itself, or it is extraordinary and must be understood as a supernatural interference.

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1. Ku or kw' before a vowel, or mu or mw' before a vowel /sic/, is none other than the preposition "at, in."

also says isekera, from the verb gusekera, "to cultivate," because the fields are readied at the end of summer although no planting or sowing is done, hence the difference from the word guhinga, which also means "to cultivate" but with immediate planting in mind.

2. Urugaryi. This term designates first and foremost the time when beans are cultivated (mw' itabira ry' ibishimbo) and also the time when the beans yield pods (imishogoro) tender enough to eat (gashogoro). This same season includes about a month of good weather, which enables people to harvest the beans and which has earned it the name of "little summer season." This first harvest usually takes place in January or February.

3. Itumba. This season corresponds roughly to our winter. The word that designates it comes from the verb gutumba, "to swell," to indicate that the clouds keep piling up and the rain keeps falling. Hence the synonym Urushyana, "time of heavy rains."

4. Ichyi or Mpeshi designates the summer season when the harvesting is done, hence the two synonyms mw' (1) itema from

/1. See footnote (1) immediately preceding./

gutema, "to cut," and mw' isarura from gusarura, "to harvest."

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As for the origin of the months and seasons, /429/ legend states that King Gihunga sent two of his sons to an important personage who controlled rain and good weather in order to ask him for divisions (ibihe) in the year. This extraordinary man was called Kibariro, "he who knows how to count." Thanks to the gifts that were presented to him, he agreed to adjust the year in this fashion. We can see that the Blacks manage to explain everything with their imaginative minds. It is also obvious that a slight tongue-in-cheek attitude always transpires through their many tales. It must be said, indeed, that they are not

773 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people[1] go outside, look at
789 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to
[686] serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

According to another interpretation of the same legend which
[773] is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately
[103] called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

[1 [i.e., the Bashara. - Ann Hyl]

III. Names of the Principal Rains of the Year

805 821 The generic term for rain is the word imvura. To make rain is called kubvuba, hence the name of the occupation, umuvubyi, or "rain maker," which is largely the specialty of the members of the Bashara clan.

1. Imvura y' umuhindo, "thunder rain," from the word guhinda, "to thunder," because it is a stormy downpour accompanied by lightning and thunder (in October).

2. Amahole y' imvura, "persistent rain," from the word guhora, "to persist," "to last." It is also called imvura y' indoha (from the verb kuroha, "to flood").

3. Amahuhezi, from the word guhuha, "to blow," designates windstorms when the rain is driven by the wind. /432/

4. Amassuri, "torrential rain" (1).

> 1. Umuvu serves to designate the bed of torrents suddenly scooped out by the rain.

5. Also called imivumbi, "rain that begins early in the morning and falls during the greater part of the day."

6. Amahindu, when it rains and hails (urubura, "hail").

7. Urushyana serves to designate the long rainy season in March, April, and part of May.

8. Impungira mirara or inyagira mirara, "rain that falls on several sorghum ears left in the fields"; it occasionally falls in July.

9. Intsindagir' ibigega, "rain that packs tight (the sorghum stored in) the granaries," because it falls for a day or two at the end of August when the granaries have not been covered in time.

10. Imvura y' impangukano, "rain that ends the waiting period," that is to say, the first rains that were hoped for in order to cultivate the soil (guhanga, "to hope for," and its reverse /sic/ guhanguka, "to see one's hopes fulfilled").

11. Inkaza bigunda, from gukaz' ibigunda, "to make the grass lands green again," designates the few more or less unexpected rainfalls at the end of summer.

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12. Imvura y' igisanura (2), "the rain that soaks (the parched

2. Gusanura is a sort of auxiliary verb which is understood in a figurative sense and has many meanings, like the verb gukaza.

lands), that is to say, the first showers of the rainy season.

IV. Seasonal Rites

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When the sorghum-sowing time (mu kubiba) comes by, the mistress of the household takes a handful of grain which she proceeds to grind. With the resulting small amount of flour, she fashions a roll into which she slips some fruit of the shrub called intobo. Then the roll is placed in a small basket (interero or chyibo) along with a household spatula (umwuko) /433/. Meanwhile, the children of the household wrap the embers from the hearth in a bunch of grass which should contain either bran or sorghum husks whenever possible. They bury this parcel in the field which is about to be sowed.

One must not forget to add to the contents of the basket a piece of iron dross. There remains only to place the whole thing in the storage granary (ikigega), which shall be filled to the brim at harvest time as a result of this symbolic and superstitious procedure.

The owners of the hut must see to it that none of their neighbors will come to get some fire (kulahura) and enter the hut until the day when the first sorghum shoots appear.

If one were to neglect this precaution, one would incur the risk of a bad harvest (ngo batabak' umugisha).

At the time when beans are cultivated, the owner of the field sticks his spear into the ground and places on the tip of the weapon a pod of unshelled beans which he drives in lightly. His children bring him a hollowed half gourd (uruho), which is used as a basin. He fills it with water.

On a grass pad he puts a rolling stone (ibuye ry' intosho). Then a handful of beans in the pod are placed on the pad for an instant and shelled.

241 The beans are poured onto the back of an overturned winnowing
788 basket. Then the owner removes one of the long grass stalks covering the entrance to the hut, and he places this dried stem on the winnowing basket whose concave side is facing down. He takes the basket, lifts it, and shakes it strongly with both hands in order to get the beans into the other side of the grain-scouring implement.

This superstitious practice bears the name of bean "creation" or "multiplication." If a stranger /434/ happens by in the course of this ritual, he must not walk around the basket but pass to one side of it.

Then the beans are buried in the tilled ground in the hope of a rich harvest. This procedure is commonly used to insure good weather.

In their credulity and trust in superstitious practices, the Banyarwanda hope to exercise an influence over sunshine.

At the time of the sorghum harvest, when the Banyarwanda
[273] are extremely eager to secure beer from this plant (amarwa) of which they have been deprived for so long, they expose the crushing stone (ingasire) to sunlight, believing that they are "retaining" the sun in this fashion. We may add that their knowledge of astronomy is nil.
821 They have only one generic term, inyenyeri, to designate the stars, and another, nyakotsi, for comets (1).

1. Nyakotsi means "the /female/ one with smoke," that is to say, with a tail.

The sun (izuba), the moon (ukwezi), and the planet Venus (nyamuhiribona) are the only heavenly bodies for which they have specific names.

Protectors against Lightning and Its Fearsome Consequences

791 They are known by the name of abagangahuzi (from the verb kugangahura). Their honorable and lucrative profession does not expose them to any danger.

Their role is to purify, as their name (umugangahuzi) and their duties (kugangahura) indicate, and to avert any future consequences of lightning. Here are the various circumstances in which sorcerers of this kind officiate and the manner in which they operate.

761 1. When a human being is struck down by lightning. Accord-
766 ing to /436/ native belief, lightning is regarded as the king of the
821 sky, who comes occasionally and chooses subjects among men. It is
791 said in such cases that the person who was struck is a "living tax" (inkuke) levied by the god, or else a subject or a page of his (intore). As a consequence, laments are forbidden. So as not to displease the king of the sky, who may do as he pleases, the relatives and friends of the victim must dance and emit joyful cries while the drums are played.

766 The purifier-sorcerer then makes an appearance. Those
821 present receive from him, on the back of their hand, a few drops of
791 a liquid which they must allow to fall upon the ground. Then the sorcerer pours some for the second time in the palm of their hand, and each of the participants drinks what is given to him.

766 Then they inhale in turn the aroma of another liquid substance
821 (issubyo) made by the purifier.

The victim's hut and all people present are sprinkled with a mixture of water and chalk. The corpse also gets some on the forehead and chest. Then it becomes proper to lay out the corpse, which the relatives would not have dared to do prior to the sorcerer's intervention.

The guests put around their necks a special grass stem (umwishwa) which, as we have seen, plays an important role in ritual ceremonies as though it had a purifying property. The deceased also gets one, and the funeral procession sets out for the place where the body is to be exposed.

766 821 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possible, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

[152] Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman 588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief 766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered 821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchùra) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

766 821 [834 783] Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza, umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and avert any future consequences.

821 231 791 796 2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals, cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

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Then the owners are allowed to carve up the animals on the spot and to distribute the pieces. Words referring to buying and selling must be avoided, however, so as not to offend the lightning whose property rights would thus be violated. The buyers are tacitly bound to compensate the owner. When the time comes for payment, they hand him the price of the meat, rated at its actual value, but without saying anything about it. The seller, if he wishes to induce a recalcitrant buyer to make payment, cannot bring up the subject in explicit terms.

At most he may go to the man's home bearing a native umbrella (issinde) which, owing to its function in times of rain and storms, is supposed to remind the delinquent debtor of the tacit agreement made after one of those storms. It is quite permissible for the debtor to play deaf and blind and refuse to understand. His creditor has no direct hold over him. In order to avoid the evils of lightning with which the seller threatens him in vain with the presence of his umbrella, our recalcitrant buyer need only toss far away the bones of
[539] the piece of meat he had chosen and cry, "It was the king of the sky who gave it to me" (n'umwami yangabuliye). These words, pronounced in a loud and intelligible voice, are well understood by the creditor, who can do nothing else.... They clearly convey his dismissal and a definitive refusal.

In certain provinces the owner of a cow struck down by lightning and the people in his house must observe an eight-day mourning
[833] period (okwirabura). Cohabitation between spouses is forbidden during that period, just as at the death of a member of the family. The bull, billy goat, and ram are separated from the herds. Cow milk is set aside, and no one may drink of it. When the eight days are over, the animal's master builds a special small /439/ hut on the spot where the animal was killed.

The other cows are milked there, or else the cream gathered
[302] on previous days is used and immediately churned. Once the butter is ready, the participants rub it over their bodies while the women and children sing and shout their joy (bakavuz'impundu).

Beer is offered to the guests, and the day ends in the hope that the king of the sky (lightning) will not return to seek new victims.

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821 The purifier-sorcerer need not be present at this last ceremony. Their role and presence were essential only on the day of purification. They always come away with handsome rewards, leaving on the spot protective herbs or lucky amulets (impigi za Biheko).

753 3. In some localities individuals also resort to these doctors in mystical sciences upon the death of a leper or the burning of a hut.

783 a. The natives have an acute aversion to contagious diseases and especially to leprosy. Once the unfortunate victim of one of those terrible diseases is dead, the purifier-sorcerer is called in to carry out various ceremonies. He tosses lustral water upon the hut of the deceased, and finally sets fire to it. The onlookers run far away in order to avoid the smoke, as though it could transmit the disease of the deceased owner.

In the central province of Nduga, the sorcerer has a small hut built in which he places the son of the deceased. With one hand he sets fire to the hut, while with the other he rapidly snatches the child out of it.

The leprosy is supposed to have vanished forever, and henceforth no other member of the family will become its victim. The sorcerer vouches for this. /440/

b. In order to avoid the evils which might befall the owner of a hut that has burned or even his neighbors, the same sorcerer is resorted to. He makes his clients drink the liquid mentioned previously.

The site of the hut is sprinkled with lustral water, and the bystanders are also sprinkled with it.

Three reeds stuck into the ground and covered with banana leaves make an improvised hut in which the owner and his wife must stay for an instant (baryamana). The evil spell has been lifted. Henceforth, nothing is to be feared (bamaz' umuriro or bamaze ishyano, that is to say, "they have warded off all misfortune"). The diseases which might have afflicted those present at the accident and their unborn children have been averted forever.

791 In the Bugoyi, to the northeast of Lake Kivu, the role of protector against fire and its deadly consequences is the prerogative of a special category of sorcerers known by the title of Abahozi or

539 Nd' uwawe, nd' uw' imanzi. — I am yours, I am the Hero's (man).
Nkazibgira, Muzima. — I speak to him (to this Hero), oh perfect (king)!

Nivugire, nd' uwinganji. — Let me rejoice, I am (the man) of the Victorious.

Witwa Ndabagize. — You are named (oh king!) the master of their fate. /453/

[195] We may add that in order to observe the rules of euphony, the black men of letters are permitted to use poetic license and deliberately to make errors of syntax, construction, conjugation, etc.

Third Example

Akanganiro k' umubyeyi w' umwana. — Conversation of a mother with her child (to amuse him).
Umugor' atiny' umugabo. — The wife fears her husband.
Umugab' atiny' umwami. — The man fears the king.
Umwam' agatiny' inkuba. — The king fears lightning.
Inkub ' igatiny' umugano. — Lightning fears bamboo (1).

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1. The Banyarwanda, especially those who live in the mountains, have the custom of setting up a long bamboo stem in the court-yard near their hut to protect against lightning. They believe that the latter is caged and harmless when it splits the bamboo.

539 Umwan' atinya nyina. — A child fears (respects) his mother.
Umugan' ugatiny' umuliro. — Bamboo fears fire (2).

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2. "Bamboo fears fire" because people who live near the forest burn chiefly bamboo.

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Figurative terms are used to speak of the king's death:

gutabara ..... "to go to the aid," "to go to war"
gutanga ..... "to hand over" (the drum to the successor)
kunywa ..... "to drink" (poison)
gussaza ..... "to grow old"
gusezera ..... "to take leave"
ijuru ryaguye ..... "the sky has fallen"

644 3. It would be most disrespectful to allude to anything pertaining to his eventual death. While on a trip the king must avoid passing too close to cemeteries or even to the mere "night stops" (ilaro, amalaro), where the bodies of his predecessors were laid in the course of their transfer to the royal necropolises.

[767] Nor is he permitted to spend the night in those villages which are inhabited by the undertakers.

The latter in turn must avoid appearing in his presence and must employ an intermediary when they have to deal with the king.

As if the thought, likeness, or memory of death could shorten his days or bring misfortune upon him!

4. Whenever possible His Majesty must avoid bending his knees (guhina), so as not to risk a reduction in the area of his kingdom (2). /493/

[821] 2. When caught by a storm or bad weather the king must not quicken his pace; he must proceed quietly to shelter. Rain is regarded as a blessing due to the influence of the prince. A quickening of his pace might bring the beneficial downpour to an end.

We believe that this popular belief will soon be pushed into the background, and that the monarch will become less willing to submit to all the demands of his position.

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to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

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It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

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It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

527 As we can see, the origins of this practice are obscure. Could a trace of the Sabbath or Sunday be involved here?

The hypothesis would be fairly plausible, especially if one supposes that the Batutsi originally came from Egypt or Abyssinia.

Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it used to be strictly observed. Many pagans who live far from European settlements still observe it today. Like their ancestors, /538/ they [821] lend it a superstitious meaning. If hail should fall on that day, they would not fail to attribute it to a supernatural punishment and to place the responsibility on those who were caught breaking the rule. "One didn't hesitate," the elders relate, "to insult the delinquents, to rob them or even to strike them if need be, and it was not unusual to be taken to task, so highly was this custom regarded."

769 The great chiefs also do for the dead members of their families, proportionately speaking, what the king does for his own ancestors (1). Each of the huts which make up their homes, for usually

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1. The Bega preferably take their dead to the Budaha region, which is one of their fees. The regent Kabale and one of his favorite wives, Kirumwero, were buried in the village of Ngoma, near Gatare hill. His father Lwagara had been buried at Gisunzu, not far from Munzanga, and his brother Lwibishengo at Nyamutukura. His son Nyantabana and one of his grandsons were interred at Lwasankuba.

The Banyiginya choose their burial sites in enemy country to check invasions and to wreak evil on foreigners (Abanyamuhanga).

Before it was joined to the Crown, the isle of Idjwi served as a final

791 Soothsayers, Sorcerers, and Medicine Men. Besides the
787 babandwa, there are several categories of people in Mulema who know how to exercise power over the living and over spirits in supernatural ways. We shall speak here of bapfumu, bahuzi, balozi, bachunyi, bahinza, and bawubyi.

[319] Bapfumu have the task of communicating with the spirits of the dead (bazimu). They are visited when a death has occurred in the family, and a present of food, sometimes even a goat, is brought to them. They then tell the family where it would be most suitable to build the spirit hut of the deceased (ndaro). Since the mupfumu remains in contact with the spirits of the dead and since these spirits cause illness, he is asked whether a sick person will recover. The mupfumu gives answers with the help of the little board oracle.

The special duty of the bahuzi is to discover poisoners who are known here as balozi and in the Runyoro territory was balogu. If many deaths occur, poisoning is immediately suspected. The muhuzi is summoned to handle this, and it is his task to determine
[682] who the poisoner is. If discovered, the criminal can be killed, and the evil can, at least for the future, be remedied. The muhuzi goes from one compound to another with his enchanted antelope horn. Everywhere he is most hospitably received by the head of the family who gives him gifts. All are afraid that if he were displeased he might point to them as poisoners, and this always means death. On his rounds the muhuzi is told by the horn where the poison is to be found and who the poisoner is.

791 Persons struck by lightning are also treated by the muhuzi.
●821 If lightning strikes a herd of cattle, the owner utters a cry of joy
232 which consists of a long drawn-out "hoo..." as he strikes his lips with his hand. This call is supplemented by the news that the king is taking back his cattle. This is done in order to save the animals that have been stunned. The maganga huzi is then fetched and tries to heal the animals with herbs. For his efforts he is presented with the jaws of the dead animals and the meat on them. The horns of the dead animals are buried at the spot where they
[787] were stricken. Another task of the bahuzi is to prophesy to the sick the outcome of their illness.